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S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 BRUSSELS 005396

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DEPT. FOR T, NP, NEA/NGA AND EUR/ERA

E.O. 12958: DECL: 12/22/2014

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SUBJECT: EU/IRAN: WMD REP GIANNELLA READOUT ON TALKS, PATH
AHEAD FOR EU3-IRAN DIALOGUE

REF: A. LAIDLAW-TREMONT-PELZ E-MAILS 12/17/04-12/21/04

[B](#). BERLIN 4190

[C](#). LONDON 9265

Classified By: USEU Poloff Van Reidhead for reasons 1.4 (b)(d)

[1](#). (S) Summary: In a meeting to review the EU3,s efforts with Iran December 21, EU WMD Rep Annalisa Giannella said she was generally pleased with the process but questioned whether the EU-3 could achieve its goals without eventual US involvement. She said that neither the December 13 ministerial meeting nor the December 17 Nuclear Working Group meeting were substantive, although the latter served as a useful ice-breaker with Naseri, the new GOI representative to the Nuclear Group. She also described the new roles created for EU staffers, including herself and Council DG Robert Cooper, now that the EU-3 had expanded to include HiRep Solana, and painted a picture of the schedule ahead. End Summary.

PLEASED WITH PROCESS BUT SKEPTICAL ON OUTCOME

[2](#). (S) WMD Rep Annalisa Giannella said she was pleased that the EU3-Iran dialogue had resulted in the suspension of Iranian enrichment activities, but wondered how long it could last, since neither the GOI nor the EU-3 1 (now including HiRep Solana) were willing to shift their red lines. She said the EU-3's demand for the permanent cessation of all enrichment activities was non-negotiable, and that no other "objective guarantee" would suffice. At the same time, she has never heard a single Iranian interlocutor even hint at the possibility of giving up the sacred "right" to develop and maintain a nuclear fuel cycle. The talks are buying time, she said, but for how long? She said that while the Iranians were talking with the Europeans, their sights were clearly set on Washington, and she doubted durable solutions could be found without US participation. She also passed us a December 21 AFP article that quotes Iranian negotiator Moussavian as saying it was "important" for the EU and US to stay in consultation on Iran. We reminded Giannella that the problem was not with the US but with Iran and its long history of broken promises. Giannella agreed, but doubted whether the GOI would make a strategic decision come clean until the US was somehow involved in the dialogue.

SOLANA AS ADVISOR AND BRIDGE

[3](#). (SBU) Giannella said that in general, HiRep Solana will attend any EU3 ministerial-level meetings with Iran and will serve as an advisor and bridge between the EU-3 and the EU-25. Giannella (whose formal title is "Personal Representative of the High Representative for WMD") and Council DG Robert Cooper will represent Solana on the EU3-Iran Steering Committee. External Relations Deputy DG Fernando Valenzuela and/or Mideast Director Christian Leffler will represent the Commission.

[4](#). (C) Giannella will also serve as Coordinator for the three EU3-Iran Working Groups. The EU representatives to the Nuclear Working Group are Giannella staffers Dr. Stephan Klement and Jean-Claude Brunet. Klement is a nuclear policy specialist who was with the IAEA before joining Giannella's office earlier this year. Brunet is a security policy expert detailed to Giannella's office from the French MFA. Brunet and Policy Unit Iran Advisor Bjorn Larrson are the representatives to the Political and Security Working Group. The Commission's Leffler will lead the Technology and Economic Development Working Group with participation from others in the Commission as appropriate. We have very good working relationships with all of these people and consider them capable and cooperative.

DECEMBER 13 MINISTERIAL AND WORKING GROUPS PLENARY

[5](#). (S) Giannella's readout of the December 13 EU3-Iran ministerial meeting tracked closely with refs (B) and (C).

Describing the event as a "tete-a-tete" between Rohani and the Europeans, she said Rohani rejected outright any hint that the "objective guarantee" being sought by the EU-3 could only be achieved by means of a total cessation of enrichment activities. Instead, Iran insisted that its "rights" under the NPT could not be infringed. Beyond such posturing, nothing of substance was discussed, she said.

16. (S) Giannella said that during the introductory working groups plenary following the ministerial, the GOI delivered an oral list of the topics they wanted to discuss in each of the three working groups. Reading from her notes, she said these were:

Nuclear Group:

1. objective guarantees
2. peaceful applications, including:
 - a) nuclear fuel supplies ("can't rely on tricky Russians")
 - b) joint projects (not defined)

Political and Security Group:

1. sustained partnership on regional issues
2. cooperation on counter-terrorism
3. security assurances (Note: we took this as code for US engagement)
4. nuclear weapons free zone in the Middle East
5. export controls
6. defense relations, including:
 - a) counter-narcotics
 - b) counter-terrorism
 - c) conventional defense cooperation

Technology and Economic Development:

1. easing EU export restrictions
2. technical assistance
3. financial assistance
4. energy
5. trade liberalization

17. (S) According to Giannella, the EU-3 did not respond to the list and the rest of the meeting was consumed by more Iranian posturing and unsubstantive discussions.

DECEMBER 17 NUCLEAR GROUP MEETING

18. Giannella's readout of the first meeting of the Nuclear Working Group in Geneva on December 17, which she attended, tracked almost verbatim with those provided by German, French and British officials (ref A). She described the meeting as an "ice-breaking" session and said they did not discuss cessation or objective guarantees. She echoed others in saying she was generally pleased with Naseri and thought him much more businesslike and reasonable than the "theatrical" Zefari.

19. (S) Giannella said the EU-3 asked for a paper from the Iranians explaining their reasons for wanting a 6000-megawatt nuclear energy capacity by 2020 (which she thought unrealistic). The GOI agreed to deliver the paper at the next Nuclear Group meeting scheduled for January 17 in Geneva. The Iranians also said they needed a light water research reactor in order to produce medical isotopes and to train new engineers. Giannella said the Iranians wanted to discuss restrictions on European exports and, incredibly, also asked for a tour of European nuclear energy facilities, but the EU-3 did not respond. She commented that one of the most frustrating aspects of negotiating with the Iranians was that they always sought to maintain a facade of equality, as though they should be treated with the same trust and respect as any other "responsible" state. Giannella said the Iranians also complained a lot about the Russians and said they needed a more reliable source of fuel that would not squeeze them for extra profit or political gain.

SCHEDULE OF MEETINGS

10. (S) Giannella expected the working groups to meet on a roughly monthly basis. In principle they will convene in Geneva (or maybe Vienna) in order to create a neutral atmosphere and to ensure maximum participation on the European side. The Steering Committee will meet quarterly; the first will convene in March in Tehran. The Political and Security Working Group met for the first time December 21 in Geneva (we do not yet have a readout), and the Nuclear Group will next meet on January 17 in Geneva. Before then, European experts will make a "fact-finding" visit to Iran to explore the research reactor sought by the GOI (Giannella Staffer Dr. Stephan Klement will participate for the Council). Giannella did not know where things stood with the Technology and Economic Development group.

